

Message Text

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ACTION INR-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-16 ISO-00 DRC-01 RSC-01 /029 W

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P R 181555Z JUN 74

FM AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 867

INFO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 RIO DE JANEIRO 2222

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: EXTERNAL RESEARCH: LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

REF: STATE 123527

1. HILTON PROPOSAL FOR PROJECT IS AS FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. QUOTE. TITLE OF PROJECT: BRAZIL-
IAN FOREIGN POLICY: BILATERAL RELATIONS AND OUTLOOK.

OBJECTIVE AND ANALYTICAL STRUCTURE OF PROJECT

THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS PROJECT IS TWO-FOLD: (1) TO
ASSESS BRAZIL'S FOREIGN POLICY WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO
RELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC COUNTRIES AND/OR REGIONS, AND (2)
ON THE BASIS OF THAT ASSESSMENT, TO PROVIDE A PREDICTIVE
ANALYSIS OF BRAZIL'S OPTIONAL STRATEGIES WITH REGARD TO
THOSE ACTORS AND ISSUES PERCEIVED BY BRAZILIAN POLICY-
MAKERS TO BE MOST RELEVANT TO NATIONAL INTERESTS.

THE STUDY WILL BE DIVIDED INTO SIX SECTIONS:

(1) ELITE IMAGES AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1930-1974; (2)
BRAZIL IN SOUTH AMERICA; (3) BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES;
(4) BRAZIL AND WESTERN EUROPE; (5) BRAZIL AND THE PERI-
PHERY; AND (6) BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NEXT DE-
CADE.

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SUMMARY

SECTION I

THE POINT OF DEPARTURE WILL BE A DEFINITION OF THE WORLD VIEW HELD BY THE FOREIGN POLICY ELITE; THAT IS, THE LATTER'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, PERCEPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY SYSTEMIC CONDITIONS, AND RESULTANT CONCLUSIONS ABOUT BRAZIL'S ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. SINCE HISTORICAL PRESPECTIVE IS INDISPENSABLE TO JUDGMENTS CONCERNING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ELITE IMAGES, THIS STUDY WILL COMMENCE WITH AN EVALUATION OF SUCH IMAGES SINCE THE GREAT DEPRESSION. AFTER DESCRIBING ANALYTICALLY SHIFTING BRAZILIAN PRECEPTIONS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS, INCLUDING IMAGES OF NATIONAL NEEDS AND CAPABILITIES, THE STUDY WILL EVALUATE THE RESULTANT GENERAL FOREIGN POLICY STRATEGIES ADOPTED.

A MAJOR CONSTANT IN NATIONAL POLICIES SINCE 1930 HAS BEEN INDUSTRIALIZATION, WHICH BRAZILIAN LEADERS HAVE AS THE MEANS BY WHICH BRAZIL WILL ATTAIN GREAT POWER STATUS AND, CONSEQUENTLY, HEGEMONY IN THE SOUTH AMERICAN SUB-SYSTEM. RELATIONS WITH OTHER POWERS, PARTICULARLY EXTRA-CONTINENTAL ONES WITH NO DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICAL ISSUES AFFECTING BRAZILIAN INTERESTS, HAVE BEEN SHAPED IN LARGE PART BY CAPACITY AND DISPOSITION TO ASSIST IN BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. THIS STUDY WILL THEREFORE STRESS THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS GIVEN TO THE QUESTION OF BRAZIL'S DEPENDENCE UPON EXTERNAL SOURCES OF CAPITAL, TECHNOLOGY AND INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS, AND ITS NEED FOR FOREIGN MARKETS TO SUSTAIN ECONOMIC GROWTH. MOVEMENTS TOWARD REGIONAL (LATIN AMERICAN) AND SUB-REGIONAL (LA PLATA BASIN, AMAZON) INTERGRATION, RELATIONS WITH TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIAL PARTNERS, AND EXPANDING TIES WITH AREAS TRADITIONALLY PERIPHERAL TO BRAZIL'S MAJOR CONCERNS WILL BE EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL TRUST OF BRAZIL'S FOREIGN POLICY.

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SECTION 2

THE MAJOR ARENA OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY IS SOUTH AMERICA. THIS STUDY WILL EVALUATE TRADITIONAL PATTERNS IN BRAZILIAN IMAGES OF BRAZIL'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS SPANISH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS, PARTICULARLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF PAN-AMERICANISM. THE SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRY WHOSE INTERESTS AND AMBITIONS HAVE MOST INFLU-

ENCED BRAZILIAN POLICY IS ARCH-RIVAL ARGENTINA. THIS STUDY WILL ARGUE THAT ANXIETY OVER ARGENTINE INTENTIONS IS THE KEY TO UNDERSTANDING BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RECENT DECADES. BRAZILIAN STRATEGY, IN OTHER WORDS, HAS ITS ROOTS IN BRAZIL'S STRUGGLE WITH ARGENTINA FOR SUPREMACY IN SOUTH AMERICA. IN ANALYZING THAT STRUGGLE, PARTICULAR EMPHASIS WILL BE GIVEN TO BRAZIL'S HISTORICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD PERONISMO, THE APPARENT DIMINUTION OF SUB-SYSTEMIC CONFLICT THROUGH ECONOMIC COOPERATION, AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF NUCLEAR POWER FOR THE FUTURE COURSE OF THIS TRADITIONAL RIVALRY.

BRAZIL'S INTERACTION WITH OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY BOLIVIA, PARAGUAY AND CHILE, WILL BE PROJECTED AGAINST THE BACKDROP OF BRAZILIAN-ARGENTINE COMPETITION, SINCE THE DIRECTION AND INTENSITY OF THAT INTERACTION HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN LARGELY A FUNCTION OF THE STATE OF BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH ARGENTINA. ANALYTICAL EMPHASIS WILL BE PLACED UPON CURRENT BRAZILIAN EFFORTS TO DEVELOP MARKETS FOR ITS MANUFACTURES AND FIND NEW SUPPLIERS OF CRITICAL IMPORTS, ESPECIALLY FUELS.

SECTION 3

THE UNITED STATES, IN BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY CALCULATIONS, IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ACTOR. MAINTENANCE OF A WASHINGTON-RIO "AXIS" HAS HISTORICALLY BEEN REGARDED BY BRAZILIAN LEADERS AS INDISPENSABLE TO BRAZIL'S SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND HENCE TO ITS PROJECTION IN SOUTH AMERICA. DISCUSSION OF BRAZILIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS WILL FOLLOW THE EVALUATION OF BRAZIL'S POSITION IN SOUTH AMERICA, SINCE BRAZIL'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LONG-STANDING EFFORT TO FORGE A "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN, TO A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE, A FUNCTION OF BRAZIL'S FEELINGS OF INSECURITY AND ISOLATION VIA-A-VIS SPANISH AMERICA AND OF THE PERENNIAL COMPETITION WITH ARGENTINA. THE UNITED STATES, OF COURSE, IS BRAZIL'S LEADING TRADE PARTNER AND MAJOR SOURCE OF CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY. ANALYSIS OF BRAZILIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS WILL INCLUDE A DISCUSSION OF BRAZILIAN AMBIVALENCE TOWARD DEPENDENCE UPON THE U.S., THE CONVERGENT AND DIVERGENT INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES, THE EROSION OF BRAZIL'S IDENTIFICATION WITH THE U.S. AND THE

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FM AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

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PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF BRAZIL'S TRADITIONAL ROLE AS INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SPANISH AMERICAN INTO THE ROLE OF SPOKESMAN FOR LATIN AMERICA VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC FACTORS ON BRAZILIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS, BRAZIL'S SUCCESSFUL RECENT EFFORTS TO REDUCE ITS DEPENDENCE UPON THE U.S., AND BRAZIL'S POSITION ON REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM WILL BE CAREFULLY EVALUATED.

SECTION 4

AS A SOURCE OF BRAZILIAN IMPORTS OF GOODS, CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY, WESTERN EUROPE RANKS SECOND ONLY TO THE UNITED STATES. AS A MARKET FOR BRAZILIAN PRODUCTS, THE COMMON MARKET COUNTRIES CONSTITUTE BRAZIL'S MAJOR MARKET. THE ROLE OF THE REGION IN BRAZIL'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM WILL BE ASSESSED, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON WEST GERMANY, BRAZIL'S MOST IMPORTANT EUROPEAN ECONOMIC PARTNER. DISCUSSION WILL CENTER ON THE VICISSITUDES OF GERMAN-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS IN RECENT DECADES, STRESSING CONVERGENT INTERESTS, THE STRUCTURE AND EXPANSION OF RECENT BILATERAL TRADE, GERMAN INVESTMENTS AND IMMIGRATION.

SECTION 5

A. JAPAN: LIKE THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN IS AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TRADING PARTNER AND SOURCE OF CAPITAL AND TECHNOLOGY. THE STRUCTURE AND EXPANSION

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OF RECENT BILATERAL TRADE, JAPANESE IMMIGRATION AND INVESTMENTS WILL BE EXAMINED IN TERMS OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

B. SOVIET BLOC: BRAZIL'S TRADE WITH SOVIET BLOC COUNTRIES IS A RELATIVELY RECENT PHENOMENON BUT ONE IN WHICH BRAZIL IS DEMONSTRATING GREAT INTEREST. DIRECT TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF IS A DEVELOPMENT ONLY OF THE POST-1963 PERIOD, AND PARTICULARLY OF THE 1970'S. THE REASONS FOR THE LACK OF STRONGER TIES WITH THE U.S.S.R. AND ITS SATELLITES WILL BE PLACED IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE, WITH MAJOR EMPHASIS ON THE RECENT "DEPOLITICIZATION" OF TRADE RELATIONS AND BRAZIL'S EFFORTS TO DEVELOP MARKETS IN RUSSIAN-CONTROLLED AREAS.

C. ARAB BLOC: BRAZIL IS CULTIVATING ARAB FRIENDSHIP THROUGH GUARANTEES FOR POTENTIAL ARAB INVESTMENTS IN BRAZIL, TECHNOLOGICAL ASSISTANCE IN OIL EXPLORATION IN ARAB COUNTRIES, AND OFFERS TO PROVIDE INCREASING FOODSTUFFS, TECHNOLOGY (STEEL AND SUGAR REFINING), AND IRON ORE FOR FUTURE ARAB STEEL PLANTS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF BRAZIL'S DEPENDENCE UPON MIDDLE EASTERN OIL WILL BE EVALUATED, WITH EMPHASIS ON (1) THE STIMULUS GIVEN BY HEIGHTENED DEPENDENCY-AWARENESS TO DEMONSTRIC PETROLEUM PROGRAMS AND EFFORTS TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF SUPPLY, (2) BRAZIL'S CAMPAIGN TO CULTIVATE ARAB GOODWILL, AND (3) THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH DEPENDENCY.

D. AFRICA & ASIA (OPTIONAL): A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF BRAZIL'S EFFORTS TO DEVELOP NEW MARKETS AND SOURCES OF NEEDED IMPORTS, PARTICULARLY INDUSTRIAL RAW MATERIALS AND FUELS.

SECTION 6

THE CONCERN OF THIS SECTION IS THE FUTURE COURSE OF BRAZILIAN FOREIGN POLICY. PREDICTIVE ANALYSIS WILL COVER SUCH TOPICS AS: THE IMPACT OF CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PATTERNS ON BRAZIL'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND FOREIGN POLICY; THE LIKELY POWER-HOLDERS IN TERMS OF FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING; THE PROBABLE AREAS OF FRICTION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND AGREEMENT WITH KEY ACTORS, PARTICULARLY SPANISH AMERICAN NEIGHBORS AND THE UNITED STATES; TRENDS IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND THE PERIPHERY. EMPHASIS THROUGHOUT WILL BE ON THE RANKING OF ALTERNATIVE STRATEGIES ACCORDING TO PROBABILITY OF ADOPTION.

SCHEDULING AND COST:

ELABORATION OF THE STUDY WILL TAKE SIX MONTHS, FROM JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1974. AN ESTIMATED 190 MAN-HOURS IN JULY, 425 DURING AUGUST-NOVEMBER, AND 150 IN DECEMBER WILL BE DEDICATED TO THE PROJECT, FOR A TOTAL OF 765 MAN-HOURS.

THE TOTAL COST OF THE PROJECT WILL BE \$9,500.00, WHICH INCLUDES \$9,300.00 IN PERSONAL COMPENSATION AND \$200 FOR PAPER SUPPLIES AND TYPIST SERVICES.

THE TENTATIVE SCHEDULE FOR COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT IS AS FOLLOWS:

AUGUST 1: RESEARCH REPORT AND DETAILED OUTLINE OF STUDY.

SEPTEMBER 1: SECTION 1

OCTOBER 1: SECTION 2

NOVEMBER 1: SECTION 3

DECEMBER 1: SECTION 4

JANUARY 1: SECTIONS 5 AND 6

PERSONAL INFORMATION:

MY CONTRACT WITH THE BRAZILIAN MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ENDS ON JUNE 30, 1974. I PROPOSE TO DEDICATE THE MONTH OF JULY TO FINISHING MY RESEARCH IN RIO DE JANEIRO. ON AUGUST 26, 1974 I SHALL BEGIN WORK UNDER A CONTRACT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY.

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MAILING ADDRESS IN BRAZIL: C/O POLITICAL SECTION, CONSULATE GENRAL, RIO DE JANEIRO. MAILING ADDRESS IN THE U.S. UNTIL AUGUST 10: C/O BERNICE M. BUCK, 5332 BRIERCREST AVE., LAKEWOOD, CALIFORNIA 90713. MAILING ADDRESS IN THE U.S. AFTER AUGUST 10: DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY, BATON ROUGE, LA. END QUOTE. END UNCLASSIFIED.
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Message Attributes

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